8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

# *Araucanian Patri-Organization and the Omaha System*

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THE thesis of this paper is that Araucanian society has been patrilineally organized since the time of the Conquest, but that the appearance of the Omaha system is a very recent development and not fully representative of Araucanian society. It is concerned, therefore, with the development of Araucanian social organization under four sections: (1) brief review of two basic assumptions about the development of Araucanian kinship and social organization; (2) examination of historic kinship terminology and other data on social organization, in connection with these assumptions; (3) presentation of data obtained in the field in 1953, and other recent material on Araucanian kinship and social organization; and (4) an interpretation of the development of Araucanian social organization on the basis of historical material and the present pattern of distribution.

For about three centuries the Araucanian Indians of Chile withstood the large-scale colonization of their native habitat, Araucanía. These so-called "fighting Araucanians" came to be known by the generic term "Mapuche" which means, in their language, "people of the land."

During the period of Spanish colonization the Mapuche lived between the Bio-Bio River and an ill-defined boundary north of the town of Valdivia, in a rather thickly forested area which lies between the Andes and the Pacific. North of the Bio-Bio River lived the Picunche Indians, who were closely related to the Mapuche and were part of the over-all Araucanian group. From the environs of Valdivia south to the Island of Chiloé, the more open country was inhabited by the Huilliche Araucanians or "people of the south." These cultural subgroups shared a common language, Araucanian, the regional dialects of which were mutually intelligible.

Today only the Mapuche remain as a large, easily definable ethnic group in southern Middle Chile. The Picunche were rapidly acculturated during the early colonial period. The Huilliche, for the most part, have been absorbed into the mestizo population between the southern limits of Araucanía and the Island of Chiloé.

Perhaps the most ambitious thesis dealing with the evolution of Araucanian society was presented by Ricardo E. Latcham (1924), who drew heavily on colonial documents for supplementation to field work he conducted among the Mapuche in Cautín Province, the heart of Araucanía. The premises upon which Latcham based his fundamental arguments in favor of matrilineal organization do not bear close scrutiny. Nevertheless, he stands out with Guevara Silva as one of the most assiduous students of Araucanian culture who wrote in the early decades of the twentieth century.

American anthropologists have recently shown interest in exploring histor-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4



114 ical material for the reconstruction of Araucanian social organization. However, it is generally agreed that the data do not afford a very clear picture of earlier Araucanian social forms or their development, the primary subject of this paper.

Soon after Murdock voiced wonder at the apparent absence of the Omaha kinship system in South America, Hallowell had the opportunity to interview a Mapuche informant, Martin Collío, and tentatively concluded that the

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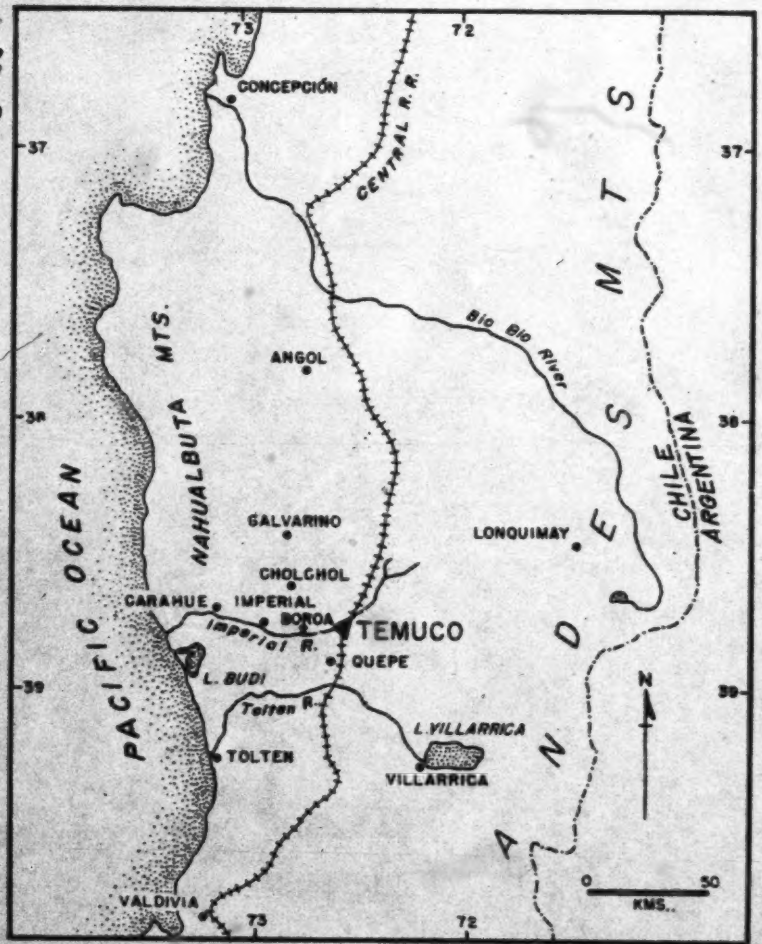


Map of Southern Middle Chile.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4



present-day Araucanians had the Omaha system of reckoning kin. He suggested there was "some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced," although results in this direction had been "somewhat discouraging" (Hallowell 1943:489–90).

In 1948 Titiev did a field study of a few Mapuche groups living on reservations near the small town of Cholchol, in Cautín Province (1951). He remarked that Latcham's work in the same area some fifty years before would serve as a base line for his own study in the dynamics of culture change. Titiev carefully delimited his area and indicated that the results of his field work applied only to the Indians in the region around Cholchol (1951:2). Few other geographico-cultural qualifications of this sort may be found in the literature dealing with the Araucanians, except for a rather vague recognition of the grosser divisions mentioned above: Picunche, Mapuche, Huilliche. It seems, however, that Titiev exceeded his self-imposed limits when he offered an evolutionary hypothesis stated in terms general enough to include all of Mapuche society (1951:49ff.). At any rate, the impression lingers that there has been a good deal of regional uniformity, at given periods in history, in Araucanian kinship structure as well as in the broader aspects of social organization, and that this is true today.

The vagueness and insufficiency of the data in the chronicles frequently render it impossible to be definitive concerning historical social forms. There is so little direct information about the kinship terminology and behavior of the Picunche and Huilliche that all searching analyses of Araucanian kinship must, perforce, deal with the Mapuche. Latcham, who certainly did most to show regional divisions among the Araucanians, conveniently ignored regional bounds in documenting his thesis of matrilineal organization. Furthermore, local variation within the Mapuche area has been largely glossed over, in part from lack of field work among the Mapuche, although evidence of such variation is not entirely wanting in the historical material.

## TWO BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

The following two assumptions regarding the evolution of Araucanian society, which appear both in the historic literature and recent field reports on the Mapuche (cf. Cooper 1946:724; Titiev 1951:51 et passim), are here questioned:

(1) That Araucanian society was matrilineally organized at the time of the Spanish invasion of Chile, and that aspects of matrilineality survived into the eighteenth century.

(2) That there has been considerable change in Araucanian kinship since the early 1600's, and that the latter-day patrilineal organization is reflected in the Omaha system (as reported by Hallowell and Titiev).

Latcham's thesis is perhaps the best documented theory of the development of Araucanian social organization. It is subscribed to in part by Titiev (1951:51), but is not in accord with the theories of other serious students of Araucanian culture, notably Luis de Valdivia (1606), Febrés (1765), Have-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4



121 114 611 stadt (1777), Félix José de Augusta (1907, 1916), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913, 1929), and Moesbach (1936). Latcham's thesis of the matrilineal origins of Araucanian society was partly an attempt to refute the theory of aboriginal promiscuity which apparently was then in vogue in Chile, a point that makes the crusading flavor of his book more easily understood.

Titiev notes that there is the "likelihood that early historic Mapuche society had a matrilineal bias" (1951:51), and incorporates this idea into his own reconstruction of Araucanian social evolution. This is our main reason for touching upon Latcham's matrilineal hypothesis in this paper.

Two pieces of evidence fundamental to Latcham's argument for the priority of matrilineal organization are based on the transfer of property to women. Drawing from an early source, Latcham stated (a) that an Indian woman in Copiapó Valley, in the extreme northern part of Picunche territory, inherited a large expanse of land and that in this region, although husbands managed such wealth, ownership was in the hands of their wives (1924:86). This is the only reference to aboriginal matrilineal inheritance in the literature of the period known to the writer, although it is cited several times. In a related attempt to establish matrilineal succession, Latcham cited (b) the inheritance of a large tract of land south of Santiago by the mestiza offspring of the marriage of a Spanish conquistador and a Picunche woman (1924:87).

Such data are inconclusive and Latcham's acceptance of them uncritical. The situations described seem to be exceptions to aboriginal practice, as they are almost surely structural adjustments, respectively, to Inca and Spanish acculturative influences.

Although Latcham's reasoning is more refined in his examination of *kuga* (an ill-defined kinship unit), here too his arguments lack conviction when used to bolster the theory that material wealth and prerogatives passed in the female line. Some of his most important arguments seem to rest on manipulation of linguistic elements and the constant iteration of the precept that totemism and matrilineal organization are somehow inextricably bound together in the foetal stage of society in general (see Cooper 1946:722–23 for discussion of *kuga* and citation of sources). He promulgated this view even though he wrote that "all the chroniclers are in agreement that sons inherited material wealth and titles from their fathers since before the conquest" (1924:57).

121 114 601 The second basic assumption mentioned above is that there have been considerable changes in Araucanian kinship nomenclature since Luis de Valdivia's time (1606), and that these changes are difficult to interpret (cf. Titiev 1951: 3–4). Cooper wrote that "The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex" (1946:724), a statement which possibly alludes more to the historical complexities involving change than to the recently recorded Omaha terminology. A further contention, hinging on the matter of change in social organization, is that the strong latter-day patrilineality among the Mapuche receives general expression in the Omaha pattern. This is at least tacitly accepted by Hallowell (1943), Titiev (1951), Cooper (1946), and Murdock (1949), with no specific mention of the possible regional variations in reckoning kinship relations within Araucanía today.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4



Actually, an examination of the historical kinship terminologies reveals a good deal of consistency in the kinds of changes which have occurred, insofar as they indicate a trend toward stronger patrilineality. It is possible, furthermore, to show that some of the changes have been effected by the successful competition of one of two or more terms present in the earliest lists. Some of these "survivors," as well as other terms, appear today as apocopations of circumlocutory expressions used earlier (and occasionally used today). The fact that they are used today when greater precision is desired indicates that they may have been used in the past (and so recorded) in order to convey "exact" information to the early students of Araucanian language and culture. Their "disappearance," therefore, does not necessarily reflect change.

There is no doubt that the Omaha pattern of kinship nomenclature exists in a full-blown form around Cholchol, where Hallowell's informant came from and where Titiev (1951:49ff.) worked. However, the areal distribution of this pattern seems to be confined to the northwest sector of Araucanía (see below p. 447), where Omaha terminology appears as a rather late development (not recorded in kinship lists collected as late as the first decades of the twentieth century).

One finds significant differences between the terminologies of Titiev and Hallowell on the one hand, and Latcham and his contemporaries on the other. However, in 1953 the writer collected kinship data which are in some ways intermediate. These findings raise questions in regard to both the historical development of Araucanian social organization and the representativeness of the Omaha system among the Mapuche of the recent past and present day.

## THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL

The lists appearing in this section are diagrammed on the basis of historical terminologies taken from lexicons and other works about the Mapuche. Diagram 1 is composed of terms collected by Valdivia (1606), and may be taken as representative of the terminology in use during at least the latter part of the sixteenth century; Diagram 2 is a composite of terms recorded by Febrés (1765) and Havestadt (1777) in the eighteenth century; Diagram 3 is made up of three lists (see p. 442) compiled in the early part of the twentieth century.

Taken together, all three diagrams, along with the relevant descriptive data, serve to show that:

(1) Certain features associated with patrilineal organization and important in the development of the Omaha pattern (e.g. polygyny; disregard of generation seen in cross-generational marriage and in the inheritance of the avuncular role) have roots in the beginnings of recorded Araucanian history.

(2) A trend toward a fully developed Omaha system seems to have been arrested in most of Araucanía—perhaps because of some of the very pressures often cited to explain emergence of stronger patrilineal organization (e.g., warfare and enhancement of the male role in regard to warfare; group solidarity in time of hostilities).

Although many terms are missing in the earliest kinship lists, parallel- and cross-cousins are recorded, the consanguineal relatives of the parental genera-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4



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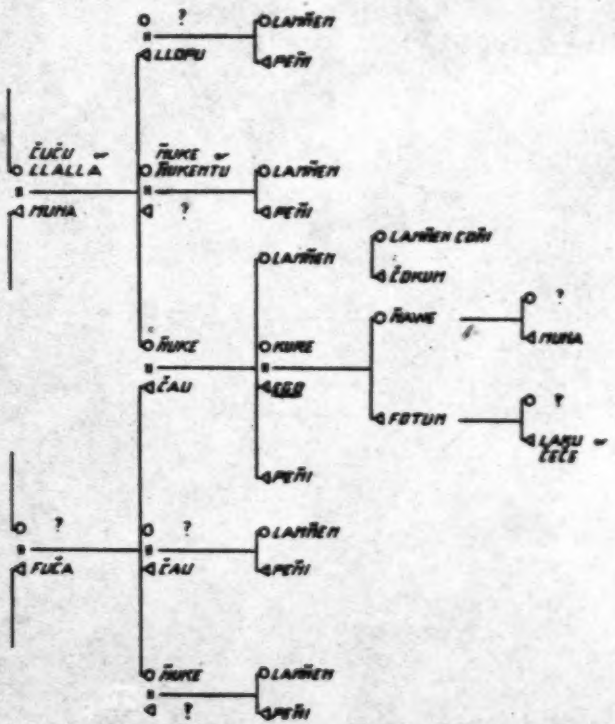


DIAGRAM 1. Mapuche kinship terminology as collected by Valdivia (1606).

tion are listed, and five generations in all are represented. The close agreement of these three lists represented in Diagrams 1 and 2 has been noted by Cooper (1946:724). Nevertheless, a few significant terminological changes were important and will be discussed below. The kinship data, as well as other descriptive material, show that certain aspects of kinship associated with patrilineal organization were in evidence at least as early as Luis de Valdivia's recording of them, that is, before 1606.

On Ego's generation parallel- and cross-cousins are classed with siblings in Diagrams 1 and 2. Modifiers were used (as they are today) to differentiate "cousins" from Ego's siblings when specificity was desired. A similar device served to distinguish own father and mother from FaBr, MoSi, and stepparents (who seem often to have been FaBr or MoSi).[2] Prefixes were employed to differentiate older and younger brothers and sisters: e.g., *yunan* and *ynan peñi/lamñen*. This is also encountered today. Another manner of more descriptive expression was circumlocution.[3]

It is evident from Diagrams 1 and 2 that in the handling of cousin terms the system does not yet show Omaha features. MoBrCh are not called "uncle"

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4



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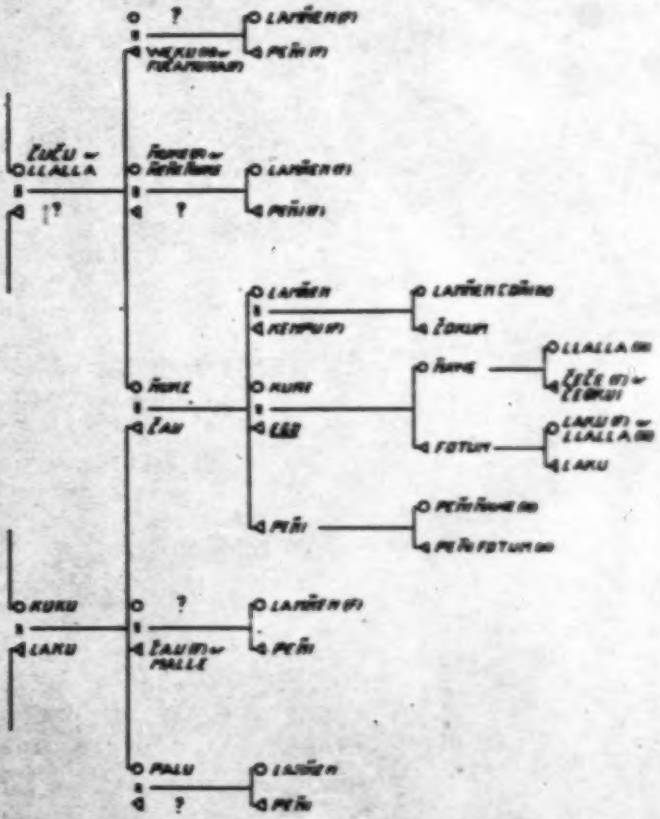

DIAGRAM 2. Composite kinship terminology of Mapuche, based upon Febrés (F) and Havestadt (H). Unmarked terms from both sources.

and "mother," for example. There is no break in the generation principle on Ego's age level. The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations (Diagram 2) is, however, a departure from this principle and remains a special feature of the system today. However, judging from in-law terms recorded by Febrés, generation was terminologically disregarded between Ego and his wife's siblings and parents after marriage. Ego called WiSi and WiFaSi by a wife derivative (*kurun*); and WiFa, WiFaBr, and WiBr by an identical term (*kuya*). There seems to be no description of such cross-generational marriages having taken place. However, because of the vagueness of chronicle reports regarding marriage and incest, the possibility, as reflected in the kinship terms, is not excluded.

On the first ascending generation the merging tendency apparent in

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4



601
174

Diagram 3. Composite kinship systems from Cautín Province, Chile, by Latcham (L), Guevara (G), Félix José (F) and Munduch (M). Unmarked terms from all four sources.

Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) seems to have given way to bifurcate-merging, as seen in the terms of Febrés and Havestadt (Diagram 2). According to Valdivia, Fa and FaBr were called "father"; Mo and FaSi were called "mother," and a mother derivative was used for MoBr (referred to as stepmother).[4] Affinal terms are missing.

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There appears to be no terminological support for a theory of matrilineal organization. On the contrary, although no rule of descent is immediately discernible, bilocality or patrilocality are suggested by the terminological identification on the parental generation, and patrilineality is attested to in the descriptive references regarding descent and widespread polygyny in the historical material (Mariño de Lovera 1864:124; Bascuñan 1863:453 et passim;

9: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4



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Bouwer 1892:81). In the nineteenth century polygyny involved many wives, more for example than could easily be associated with normal polygyny in a matrilineally organized society.[9]

Polygyny prevailed despite innumerable attempts by Spanish officials and clerics to discourage it. Its tenacity, its early mention in the sources, and its fairly elaborate status-structuring (Cooper 1946: 721, citing Marcgrav 1648: 285) indicate that its roots may lie deeper in Araucanian history than the coming of the Spaniards.

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The sororate is seemingly reflected in the use of a mother derivative for Mofi. The practice receives some confirmation by Valdivia and Febrés in their remarks about the role of the Mofi as stepmother, and in their recording of a derivative wife term (*kuwa*) for Wife. Latcham, however, mentioned that it was common for two brothers to marry sisters from another household. This practice seems to be the key to understanding the relationship of the sororate, sororal polygyny, and the levirate.

Fa and FaBr were identified. The paternal uncle was and still is sometimes referred to by a combination of the two terms: *malle chau*. If they generally lived in the same household or if the families were in regular day-to-day association, Ego might tend to call FaBrWi "mother" simply because of the role she would customarily play. This would hold regardless of whether the two women were sisters. However, in view of Latcham's observation, sororal marriage very likely came at the death of a man's brother (e.g., Fa married FaBr widow—sister to his own wife) and was polygynous, rather than coming after the death of own wife and being nonpolygynous.

If sororal polygyny was at all a common marriage practice in early times, it seems probable that it was a secondary marriage in the sense that a man married his Wife upon the death of her husband (who could traditionally have been his brother) and also secondary in the sense that consanguineal polygyny prevailed over the sororal form. Indeed, sororal polygyny appears to be an outgrowth of the levirateal obligation and, for historical reasons to be discussed later, the levirate itself seems to have emerged strongly as a postcontact development.

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Of significance, insofar as cross-cousin marriage and generation-breaking tendencies are concerned, is the term *Ilepu* (MoBr) which appears in Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) and is not recorded thereafter for the maternal uncle, except for Ehrenreich's mention of it as an "ancient" designation for the mother's brother. Febrés, however, reported its use, by a female, for the paternal uncle. Ehrenreich noted that the *Ilepu* relationship was an avunculate one, and entailed unilateral patrilineal marriage of Ego and his maternal cross-cousin. This practice may well have antedated Valdivia's recording of the term. At any rate, the indication is that MoBrDa marriage existed in early Conquest times, if not as a pre-Spanish custom. Although there is no descriptive evidence that the avunculate role was inherited and there is no terminological equation of MoBr and MoBrSo, this generation-breaking aspect of the Omaha system is foreshadowed.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4



174 601 The following are examples of historical constancy. The terms for son and daughter and for SiCh have remained the same throughout recorded Araucanian history; it is suggested that BrCh, *peñi fotum* and *peñi dowe*, are shortened circumlocutory phrases (*e.g.*, *ñi peñi ñi fotum:* the son of my brother, etc.). These expressions are used today for greater clarity in describing the degree of relationship and through whom the relationship is figured. The use of *malle fotum* appears to have been a variant which endured in that form or was further shortened to *malle*, one of several reciprocal terms used in a classificatory manner. (Note the combination of *malle* with "father" on the parental generation.)

174 601 611 114 Although the early lexicographers did not give full attention to female-speaking terms, a few have been recorded. The most controversial of these, in view of the interpretation Latcham placed on it, is the single term *lamu*, used between certain females for whom he assumed a matrilineal relationship. He believed it indicated that matrilineal clans existed. Both Valdivia and Havestadt noted that a woman called her sister *lamu* and, though not precisely stated, certainly implied that all female "cousins" were also called by this term. This usage extended the term to kin whose relationship was figured through the FaBr and the FaSi as well as through maternal relatives. Furthermore, half-sisters were also called *lamu* when related only through the father. This weakens Latcham's implications for matrilineal totemic clans.[9]

174 591 601 It was stated above that while no rule of descent is apparent in the first diagram, some indication of residence is suggested. In the use of a mother term for FaSi (Valdivia) we have a possible clue to the rule of residence in existence prior to 1600. It suggests that FaSi played a socio-psychological role by which she could be identified with Ego's mother. Therefore, she presumably had frequent and intimate contact with Ego and his household. This could have occurred if the pre-Spanish settlements were multilineage and endogamous. There is some indirect evidence to support this hypothesis, for it seems that several lineages lived in close juxtaposition on the riverine lands which they farmed (Molina 1808:18, 54; Pedro de Valdivia 1896:453-54). There is no [476] doubt that these farming groups co-operated in the building of irrigation ditches and houses, and that they engaged in other communal undertakings (Pulgar 1902:58). The frequent mention of "incest" found in the chronicles may refer to the inbreeding resulting from settlement endogamy in which sexual relations with "close" relatives were predominant.

174 601 604 The physical proximity of intermarrying lineages would certainly tie in with the avunculate relationship between Ego and the maternal uncle, though this is not dependent upon such spatial arrangements. But the absence of this proximity during the Araucanian wars seems to have fostered exogamy and deterred the development of an avunculate in which the role of the maternal uncle passed across the generations to his son and grandson. When later the reservation system stabilized residential groups, the deterrent factors diminished or disappeared, a solidarity incongruent with generations of hostility was instituted, and the Omaha pattern (as found in the Chulchul region) came into being.

8: Faron E-5 (1951) 1956 SC4 Araucanians SC4



Some aspects of Spanish-Araucanian warfare indicate reasons for possible changes in settlement pattern and the composition of social aggregates. For example, disruptions created by adverse military encounters began for the Araucanians around Santiago, in the Picunche region, and spread north and south from there. When the Picunche were fighting Spanish troops during the first few years of the Chilean colonization, socio-economic arrangements underwent considerable change. The riverine groups left their farming sites for a semi-nomadic existence in the hills and bush. Some migrated south of the Bio-Bio River and took refuge with the Mapuche. There is good evidence to show that the larger kin groups broke up into segments which could better support themselves by occasional small harvests of maize and collection of wild seeds and roots (Pedro de Valdivia 1861:4). From time to time these scattered groups banded together in larger numbers than had formerly comprised the agricultural settlements, but only to carry out raids against the Spanish settlement of Santiago. This situation—the breakup of residential units and the massing of large attacking forces—has striking parallels with the one which existed for several centuries south of the Bio-Bio River in the territory of the Mapuche. In this respect, therefore, warfare seems not to have fostered the development of stronger patrilineal organization. Warfare and the migrations it engendered seem to have resulted in an instability in the smaller social aggregates. There was reorganization and solidification on the politico-military level, while the smaller units of the population, as reflected in the kinship terminology of Diagrams 1 and 2, were less affected in both rate and degree of change.

Although patrilineal tendencies were strengthened as the centuries went on and warfare diminished, there is no reason to assume that such development was uniform either in rate or in regional distribution. Nevertheless, patrilineality and patrilineality generally appear very strong in later times.

Let us turn now from features related to patriliny to a consideration of other features of the kinship system. Diagram 3 is a composite of terms collected by Latcham (1924), Guevara Silva (1908, 1910, 1929), Félix José (1907, 1916), and Mondaca (1936). All worked in Castro Province: Latcham near Temuco and Chol-chol; Félix José in several parts of the Province; Guevara Silva near Temuco and also in the Province of Valdivia; Mondaca at Lago Budi along the Pacific Coast.

There is a gap of about four or five generations between the observations of Havestadt and those of Latcham and his contemporaries. During this time the kinship structure and over-all social organization underwent certain changes, the most striking of which is a weakening of the generation principle. Wife's marriage appears reflected in the terminology in strong association with patrilineality, tending toward suppression of the Omaha pattern.

On Ego's generation parallel-cousins are called siblings, but cross-cousins, while differentiated from them and from Ego's siblings, are still not handled in the Omaha manner. An exception, however, is that Mother's is called "mother," a direct reflection of the cross-generational Wife's marriage. There are in-

9: Focus E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Arrangement SG4



GO1 divisions in Kiziba[illegible] that there were corresponding changes in the terminology, insofar as Mu[illegible]Ch were called "brother" and "sister." However, Lechaire and Gorman recorded a cousin term [word] for Mu[illegible], again suggesting an unevenness in the pattern of distinctions of cross-generation marriage.

GO1 178 Though there are still many terms lacking in this diagram, the ethnal terms on Epe's generation are now fairly complete and, interestingly, display considerable variation. It is uncertain whether the "alternate" terms were distinctive bracketed sons or were in direct competition over a wide area, but this may be resolved by assuming a differential change in use from region to region, with contemporaneous differences acting as steps in a general transition during a time of considerable flux. Warfare, population loss, the splitting up of settlements because of migration (to Argentina and to the less disturbed regions south of Cerrito Province), and the imposition of reservations after the rebellion of 1880-81, all contributed to further reshuffling of the social aggregates. Many of the social differences in Araucanía today seem to have their roots in the recent past.

[167]

GO1 591 The social alignments which developed out of the break-up of the earlier exogamous settlements during the colonial period (when residence was more immediately affected) reinforce rules and marriage practices. In line with this change, we see that Pe[illegible] and Pe[illegible]Ch were at first called by the same term as their spouses. There is no descriptive kinship material to help explain this phenomenon in terms of marriage regulations. However, it seems that these males were really outsiders who generally had no close ties with their wives' kin groups. This situation would be consistent with the development of a pattern of patrilocal residence and its strengthening, which accompanied the splitting up of the former multilineage settlements that had an endogamous bias. The change in the terms of the ethnals in question reflect the new situation. In the case of Pe[illegible], there was a change from a term which described him as the husband of the paternal aunt (pehi) to a term which may be loosely translated as "one who has purchased" (pilloe). As a possible intermediate step there seems to have been a combination of the two terms, a circumlocution, "the one who has plundered the paternal aunt," indicating the pattern of wife purchase which was an integral part of the exogamously organized Mapuche society.

601 592 587 Judging from recorded marriage practices as well as from kinship terminology, there is little doubt that Mu[illegible] and Mu[illegible]Ch could have been the same person as either Fa or Pe[illegible]. The separation of the brothers, the secondary, the fact that it was common for brothers to marry sisters from another household, and the cross-generational marriage with Wi[illegible] account for this separation.

The brothers and cousins are known historically (see e.g. Mu[illegible] de Lorenzo 1903 [in Ebbel] 124; Guevara Silva 1913: 48), and Wi[illegible] marriage is part of oral history. Even if Wi[illegible] marriage is not described in chronicle material (Cooper 1946: 708), it is nevertheless reflected in the female-speaking

terms collected by Veldvin. Present-day informants sometimes remark that age differences between spouses in the WIB-Da marriage are not always taken into consideration in contracting the marriage. When age is not considered, the marriage is usually viewed in the light of moral obligation. The obligation is either to raise one of the WIB-Da because she cannot support herself, or for the purpose of cementing interfamilial bonds. Both of these reasons are possible outgrowths of the break-up of former well-knit settlements due to unprecedented warfare and contingent social and economic disorders.

The change from merging to bifurcate merging on the parental generation is apparent by 1760 (Diagram 2), when Veldvin recorded a difference in terms used for paternal aunt on the one hand, and Ma and Mothi on the other. It is highly probable that the terminological change affects the establishment of exogamous patrilineal organization, as suggested above. It is also likely that the lineages became surrounded with strong moral obligations which did not exist formerly, due largely to the insecurity entailed in the loss of adult males through death and slave raids. Secret polygyny, if not occasioned by this sort of system, was easily accomplished and became more widespread. It seems, therefore, that these secondary forms of marriage, under the new conditions engendered by socially and economically disruptive warfare, became important enough and of high enough incidence to have affected the structure of the system.

In summarizing the implications of the kinship diagrams in this section and the relevant historical material of the period, it seems that there are several traits in negative association with matri-organization and in positive association with patri-organization. The latter tend toward the emergence of the Omaha pattern.

*Polygyny*

Apparently polygyny was widespread, and involved a system of wife-guarding in which some wives had separate dwellings and spatial perspectives. In view of the many wives sometimes held, the practice seems to have been largely sororical in type. The second type seems to have been a spatial feature which depended on the husband and the fact that two brothers married sisters from another household.

*Avunculate*

There was a close relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle which involved gift-exchange, enforced cross-cousin marriage. This form of marriage is still practiced and was almost obligatory a generation ago. In the region where Omaha avunculate is presently found there is a terminological distribution of Mothi and Mothi-Da which implies inheritance of certain rights and obligations irrespective of generation. This disregard of generation, apparently a step toward a fuller expression of the Omaha system, seems to have been incipient as early as Veldvin's time.

*Reciprocity*

The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations is a departure from the principle of regarding generation in reckoning kin. As such, this principle seems another trend toward the stronger patri-forms now embodied in the Omaha pattern.

9: Focus E-5 (1951) 1956 SC4 Araucanians SC4



*Sleeping*

From a persons in which Mrs. Pelli, and, probably, Mrs. were described—a pattern supporting uxorilocal endogamy—there developed a system of bilateral merging which, in the light of descriptive accounts, indicates the establishment of exogamous groups which were patrilocal and patrilineal.

*Cross-generation Marriage*

In Diagram 2 there appears a break in the generation principle in the use of a similar term for MoBrDa. The identification with Ego's mother indicates that the father (or Pelli) married his WifeDa. This marriage practice seems to have been in competition with MoBrDa marriage (the unilateral cross-cousin type), perhaps throughout recorded Araucanian history. Female-speaking terminology supports the existence of WifeDa marriage in that Ego, the Pelli, and the BrDa marriage are identified. There also appears to be some influence of this in the in-law terms recorded by Faron.

*Levirate and Sororate*

The kinship terminology in Diagrams 1 and 2 reflects the marriage of two brothers with women from another household under patrilocal residence. The levirate appears to have become relinquished only in postcontact times. There is no indication in the literature that the sororate was at all widely practiced until the moral obligations centering around the levirate became strong as a result of warfare and consequent socioeconomic instability, and it seems that several polygyny rather than exogamous sororal marriage was practiced.

RECENT FIELD MATERIALS

Bullowell suggested that Araucanians now have the Omaha kinship system, and Titiev confirmed its existence in the vicinity of Chol-Chol. The following diagnostic traits were listed: (1) parallel-cousins classed with siblings, (2) FaSiCh classed with SiCh, (3) BroSo called "maternal uncle", and (4) MoBrDa called "mother."

The present writer worked briefly around Nueva Imperial, Galvarino, and just south of Angol in an attempt to determine the extent of the Omaha pattern, after failing to find it in other parts of Araucanía. It is fairly certain that the Omaha type ends, in the south, in a zone of mixture a few kilometers wide on either side of the Imperial River, at least from Boroa to Carahue.

The Galvarino data were inconclusive and the kin terms obtained from three informants near Angol did not satisfactorily cover the diagnostic areas of the system. It seems, however, that the Omaha pattern, insofar as the handling of FaSiCh is concerned, does not extend into the coastal range in the west, but only two informants from this region were questioned. East of Chol-Chol there seems to be another mixed zone running approximately parallel to the highway and railroad route which runs through the Central Valley. However, there are small, scattered groups of Mapuche throughout the entire region, and more detailed field work is needed to establish reasonably certain boundaries.

Diagram 4 does not include terminology collected in this fringe zone or in the northern and western parts of the northwest sector of Araucanía, but

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4



601

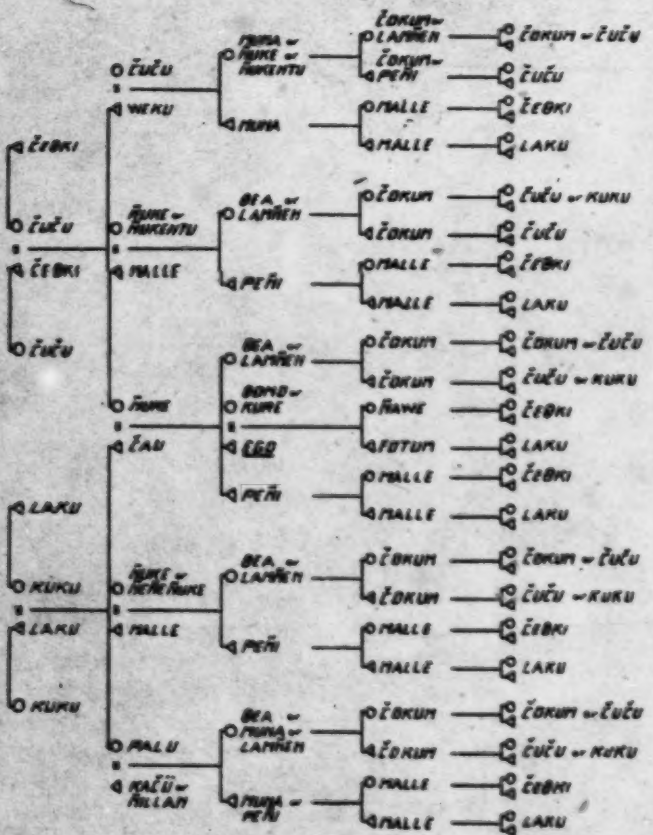


DIAGRAM 4. Araucanian kinship terminology from Cautín Province, Chile, 1953. Field data.

terms obtained in 1953 in the provinces of Cautín and Malleco, in the following regions: (1) southeast of Temuco, (2) west of Quepe, (3) the general region around Toltén, (4) south of Villarrica, (5) Lonquimay, and (6) Isla Huapi, Lago Budi.

The results, as recorded in the diagram, are fairly uniform. Wherever more than one term is listed for the same relative they are alternates in common use.

On Ego's generation we see that parallel-cousins are classed with siblings and that cross-cousins are still differentiated by the *muna* term. *Muna*, however, is sometimes used in combination with a brother or sister term, indicating the closeness felt in this relationship. Older and younger siblings and cousins are differentiated by using the qualifiers *unan* or *inan* when specificity is de-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4



601 sired, as was also the case in the sixteenth century. One respect in which generation is broken is in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. However, MoBrSo is not called "uncle," and FaSiCh are not equated with SiCh, as they are in the Omaha system.

Bifurcate-merging is seen on the parental generation with Fa and FaBr being identified behaviorally and, occasionally, terminologically through the combination of Fa and FaBr terms. Mo and MoSi are identified behaviorally and terminologically, and FaBrWi is included in this equation through the operation of the levirate and sororal polygyny and the custom whereby brothers marry sisters from another household. MoSiHu is called "FaBr" for like reasons. FaBrWi is called "mother" or a mother derivative, regardless of whether or not she is Ego's MoSi. Even with present-day neolocal residence, [543] Fa and FaBr are generally very intimate, and can be identified by Ego in their socio-psychological roles. By extension, this is also true in regard to their spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are differentiated from the above group.

Terminologically there has been little change on the grandparental generation since the earliest times. On the first descending generation there has been no change in the treatment of own or of sister's and brother's children, except for the clear establishment of certain terms which seemed to be in competition in previous lists.

The historical terminologies do not afford a base for comparison with the rest of the "nephew" terms. However, there are important diagnostic differences between these and the ones reported by Titiev (1951:39) and Raguileo (1953:343–59). The terms recorded in Diagram 4 do not reflect the generation-breaking pattern found in the Omaha system, except for the above-mentioned descendence in the MoBr line. The logical continuation of this break, however, is not emphasized in the regions studied by the writer, except in and on the fringe of the Cholchol region.

The grandchildren terms maintain the generation principle in the descendencies, with the rare exception already noted, and there is a differentiation according to the sex of the person through whom the relationship is figured. Both on the third ascending and third descending generations numbers or "distance prefixes" are used, along with current grandparental and grandchild terms.

582 835 There is a complexity about the incest regulations which reflects the breakdown of the kinship system and the associated sanctioned forms of behavior, rather than nuances inherent in the system itself. The result is a pervading uncertainty regarding permissible sexual and marriage partners outside the most customary practices. Because of the number of seeming contradictions and regional variations, the matter of incest regulations will merely be touched on in this paper.

For one thing, informants agree that marriage with MoBrDa was an almost obligatory practice in the remembered past and according to oral tradition learned in childhood. But marriage with MoBrDa was and is by no means a cut and dried matter, nor do incest regulations play a prominent part in its

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4



arrangement. Formerly, Ego and his Fa or FaBr seem to have competed for marriage partners. The forms of marriage in question were MoBrDa and WiBrDa which, in the case of Ego and his Fa or FaBr, involved the same potential mate. This competition was expressed in direct statement, innuendo, and in a number of songs dealing with *kuruntukui* (i.e. taking *kurun*).

Today discord between families sometimes thwarts one or more of the cross-cousin outlets for marriage. When this situation exists, or when there is exceptional physical distance between the families, Ego tends to marry a "local" girl, who may however be a member of the larger kin group. It is likely that during the turbulent war years cross-cousin marriages often went by the board for similar reasons. The establishment of peaceful conditions permitted the avuncular pattern to strengthen. Apparently it had a florescence during the early decades of the twentieth century, under the reservation system, finally gaining terminological expression in the Cholchol region. Gifford's remarks about the passing to the son of the right to marry WiBrDa seem to be applicable to this situation (see Hallowell 1943:491). The use of a mother term for the daughter of the maternal uncle suggests the former dominance of WiBrDa marriage. As Murdock suggests, in a passage pertinent to this situation (1949:168), a long time was necessary before avuncular rights were inherited by MoBrSo and before this succession was reflected in the kinship nomenclature. However, it seems that the generations of disruptive warfare and desultory, semi-migratory horticultural and herding activities tended to perpetuate an instability in local groupings and kinship alignments which, in turn, deterred the development of the avunculate and other features of strongly institutionalized patri-organization. Once the reservation system introduced a generally peaceful situation and set up the preconditions for sedentary and more intensive agricultural activities, local kin groups were stabilized and increased in size, patrilocality and patrilineality acquired new importance (especially in regard to inheritance of land), and, where this favorable milieu existed, the Omaha pattern seems to have developed.

Titiev pointed out that the former practice of patrilocality, in which large households of kin were not uncommon, has recently given way to neolocal residence. In general, reservation exogamy is maintained and sons often establish separate households near their parental home. The effects of change from unilocal households to neolocal households depends on the proximity of the offshoots to one another and to the parental household, as well as on the amount of contact customarily maintained among them.

Some of the recent changes in residence may be understood only from the point of view of external and internal migration, which have reshuffled the social aggregates. One aspect of external migration bears directly on one of the "basic assumptions" regarding matriliny, and therefore will be reviewed at this point.

Latcham (1924:82) argued that matrilineal traits endured until the end of the eighteenth century,[7] referring mainly to the naming customs which he associated with totemic clans and matrilineal inheritance. I suggest that

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4



174 611 Latcham may have been unduly influenced by a "pseudo-matriliny," which derives from short-term matrilocality. Evidence for this was found in 1953 near Toltén, and its occurrence in the past is attested to in oral tradition.

[167] Around the time of the reprisals following the rebellion of 1880–82, which seem to have been greater near Nueva Imperial than in the Toltén region, many Mapuche migrated southward, their departure generally entailing forfeiture of land rights. Thus landless, they settled and married in the Toltén region, living on the land of their fathers-in-law. According to Chilean law and Mapuche custom at the time of the reservation program, these married-in males had little or no legal claim to land in the new area. Today some of these in-marrying males who are still alive, and others who have migrated more recently, remark that they have only de facto control over their wife's land. They state, however, that their sons will inherit from them, and it is clear from family histories that in a generation or two this anomaly is eradicated and patrilineality prevails. Given the historical descriptions of Spanish-Araucanian warfare, this occurrence of temporary matrilocality may have taken place repeatedly.

611 174 421

601 .582 In his discussion of Araucanian social organization, Titiev wrote that "the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage practices" and that "greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage" (1951:38). The marriage practices are indeed reflected in the kinship terminology, but one cannot agree that unilateral cross-cousin marriage is so revealed. Actually, marriage with MoBrDa is not indicated in the nomenclature. MoBrDa is terminologically identified with women on the parental generation and her children are often called "brother" and "sister" by Ego. What is therefore indicated is the "disputed" practice of marriage with WiBrDa (Titiev 1951:49; Hallowell 1943:490). Cross-cousin marriage attained dominance at a time when the cross-generational type was passing from the scene, along with the lagging of polygyny and leviratic obligations. That the terminology has not reflected the dominance of MoBrDa marriage is an indication of its generally late appearance as a preferential type.

According to Titiev (1951:49), Hallowell's recording of the "disputed" WiBrDa marriage hinges on an error in translation in which there was a failure to distinguish between WiBrDa and MoBrDa. As a rule, the wife term is not *ñuke* (as recorded by Titiev) but *kure* or *ñomo*, and from *kure* is derived the WiSi and WiBrDa term, *kurun*. If *ñuke* is used at all in reference to the wife it is in the combined form *ñuke kure*, a more descriptive term designating MoBrDa only after marriage. The writer never heard *ñuke* used for wife, and only obtained the information about *ñuke kure* after considerable probing. At any rate, it seems to exist only as a possible linguistic construction rather than as a term in even limited use. It does not appear in any of the historical sources used by the writer. Actually, there is little room for error in this matter of terminology. Hallowell got to the core of the situation in his discussion of marriage between Ego and *kurun* (WiSi and/or WiBrDa) (1943:491).

601 114 The study of Anselmo Raguileo (1953) should be mentioned because of the gross inaccuracy of his sketch map, which presents a distorted picture of

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4



the distribution of Omaha terminology in Araucanía. It shows three widely separated groups in Cautín Province having Omaha terminology, whereas two of the groups are in the avowedly Omaha area centering around Cholchol, and the third group is undoubtedly an offshoot from this nucleus that migrated to the Andean foothills. Thus the three groups are an expression of a single occurrence.

The present non-Omaha pattern prevalent in Araucanía raises questions about the evolution of Araucanian social organization. Is the non-Omaha pattern a development toward a full Omaha type, as found in the Cholchol region, or is it a change away from a once greater-extended Omaha pattern? The latter possibility is unlikely since the nomenclature collected in 1953 has great similarity with that of the early twentieth century. Therefore, as was suggested at the beginning of this paper, the present-day Omaha pattern is believed to represent an intermediate form. The development of stronger patrilineality in most of Araucanía seems to have been cut off, although there was a florescence of patrilineality in the recent past in the Cholchol region.

It is likely that further change in the terminology will result from the direct substitution of a Spanish word for an Araucanian. This trend is already noticeable in certain parts of Araucanía. It is unlikely that Mapuche terms will be changed in order to bring their meanings more in line with Chilean kinship usage (e.g. substituting a "cousin" term for MoBrDa). Direct substitution will probably spread with the increased use of the Spanish language and the dissemination of Chilean culture.

## SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PATRI-ORGANIZATION

When the Spaniards first entered Chile, the Araucanian Indians lived in multilineage farming settlements. Descent was in the male line. Residence may have been either patrilocal or bilocal but, as the settlements were endogamous, postmarital residence did not entail the woman's leaving her natal community.

Economic exploitation and warfare fostered the break-up of these settlements into the several lineages of which they were composed. In some cases there was complete dissolution of the settlements and disappearance of whole kin groups because of wholesale death, long enforced absences of adult males and females, and numerous wanderings and distant migrations.

Although certain factors tended to enhance the status of males, discordant influences counterweighted them and tended to thwart the strengthening of patri-organization. Instability resulted at the lineage level, even though overall politico-military arrangements grew in complexity and seemed to solidify.

The break-up of multilineage groups under the pressure of warfare eventually led to the emergence of stricter patrilocal residence rules and settlement exogamy. The practice of bride purchase apparently continued unaltered with the change from endogamy to exogamy, but WiBrDa marriage and sororal polygyny seem to have taken on a new importance due to the moral obligations surrounding the levirate.

At the same time, it is possible to point to circumstances in which "pseu-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4



611 174 601

do-matriliny" arising from short-term matrilocal residence may have occurred, such as unsuccessful warfare, migration, and the breakdown of traditional kinship alignments. It is suggested that patri-organization was largely strengthened by events following the cessation of intensive warfare after the middle of the eighteenth century. A new stability was then achieved, population gradually approached the estimated pre-Spanish figure, and (with the introduction of the reservation system in 1866 and later in a revised form after the last Mapuche rebellion) the status of kinship heads or caciques increased, insofar as they were given title to land and became the mediators between their kin groups and the Chilean officials. Population movement lessened and the Indians became hemmed in by reservation boundaries. Still, population pressure had not yet become a problem, and stability brought increased wealth and an elaboration of social and ceremonial customs in which the male role and the patrilineal line were exalted. Precedents for the elaboration of the patrilineal structure can be seen throughout recorded Araucanian history. Important among these are the tendency to disregard generation in the WiBrDa marriage, and the complementary situation in which generation is broken in the inheritance of avuncular duties by MoBrSo. Murdock (1949:168) considers these factors to be likely steps toward the development of the Omaha system, and the evolution of Araucanian society is a case in point. In the Cholchol region there seems to have been the milieu conducive to the development of this tendency and its expression in Omaha terminology.

In conclusion, an attempt will be made to apply the technique suggested by Murdock for reconstruction of the type of kinship systems which may have existed in the recorded and unrecorded past (Murdock 1949:323–352).

Working from the premise that the Omaha pattern represents the latest and fullest development of patrilineal organization, we have the possibility that this system was preceded by a Dakota type, the criteria for which are: Iroquois cousin terminology, patrilineal descent, and patrilocal residence. These conditions are met in Diagram 3 and in the descriptive material pertaining to the period. According to Murdock, Dakota may possibly be preceded by Normal Guinea. This choice seems to be borne out on the basis of the existence of patri-organization and the handling of cousins. It is represented in the terminology recorded by Febrés and Havestadt in Diagram 2. The logical precursor of Normal Guinea, on the basis of cousin terminology and the merging of FaSi, Mo, and MoSi, is Patri-Hawaiian. This may be satisfied by the terminology collected by Valdivia (Diagram 1), suggesting that there may have been a bilateral bias to pre-Spanish Araucanian society.

## NOTES

122 [1] Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation for granting the fellowship which made possible a year's field research in Chile.

736 [2] The step-parental role must have been quite important, for the earliest histories mention numerous orphans in the Araucanian settlements. It is not clear if the number of orphans was very large under Inca control or was due to Spanish labor exploitation, but the situation surely worsened during the Spanish colonization.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4



[3] Titiev does not mention this, but does remark that teknonomy is practiced. The writer failed to find evidence of teknonomy as such, but encountered circumlocutory expressions which bore a superficial resemblance to teknonomy. 601 [551]

[4] *Ñuñu* may have been a term of direct address. In later times it is transcribed *ñoño* and defined as a term of endearment. Among present-day Mapuche, *ñoño* is used affectionately in direct address. Other similar examples are the use of *chachai* and *fuchai* for father, and *papai* (if used) for mother. The chroniclers' inclusion of both indirect and direct terms of address could have given rise to part of the notion that there has been great historical change in the terminology.

[5] Mariño de Lovera (1865:124) wrote ca. 1594, and the observations in his history cover the period in which the Spaniards first entered Araucanía. His observations made near Nueva Imperial serve to clarify certain points made in this paper exemplifying the social arrangements reflected in Diagram 1, i.e., endogamous settlements having either bilocal or patrilocal residence. His remarks on what has been taken to mean sororal polygyny seem to depend on the interpretation of "hermanas" and "parientes." Given the Araucanian kinship designations, there were many so-called "hermanas" who were only "cousins" subsumed under the term *lamñen*. Such would not be what is ordinarily considered sororal polygyny.

[6] MoSi is sometimes called "other mother" (*ka ñuke*). Latcham viewed this identification largely as evidence for a matrilineal clan system, failing to tie in the relationship with marriage practices. Indeed, in working out a kinship diagram on the basis of Latcham's female-speaking terms, one is confronted with the anomaly that preferential, cross-cousin mates fall into the tabooed incest group (compare lists on pp. 85–86 and 102–111, Latcham 1924).

[7] It is noteworthy that Latcham wrote: "A fines del siglo XVIII persistía la filiación materna, al menos al sur del Toltén." This is a region to which landless Mapuche migrated and took up residence on land held by groups into which they married.

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